1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-5 (1938-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*mota*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wahatau* and *mahuaawina*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotihotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Patrilineal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*fo*) controls a section of land (*kaua*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in
836 initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached
837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed
833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of
837 the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of
522 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ule ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this witticism.

831 Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

waited there for the hurricane season, and, as is demonstrated by their star course, then sailed back to Pukapuka with a beam wind.

The only possible way for a Pukapukan navigator to reach Tahiti from Pukapuka would be to make easting in short journeys from island to island, in high equatorial latitudes, during November or December, wait, say, at Tongareva, for a mild northerly wind, and then make more easting before the wind shifted back to west so that he was in a position to sail the rest of the way to Tahiti with a beam wind. Mr. Frisbie regards this as possible on paper but difficult in actual fact. A return voyage from Tahiti to Pukapuka would not be so difficult. It might take about 10 days or more under favorable conditions, though it might be relatively hard to make a landfall at Pukapuka.

Pukapukan traditions speak of several voyages to and from Yayake. In the light of the above-mentioned navigational difficulties and the fact that the Yayake people in their immigration to Pukapuka landed and settled on the southern side of Motu Ko, it is perhaps justifiable to assume that Yayake was not to the east of Pukapuka, but somewhere to the south or west. This would lead to the suggestion that Yayake lay in the direction of Tonga, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that this is the old Pukapukan name for an island there or for one of the Fijian islands.

MASTER IDEAS OF PUKAPUKAN CULTURE

The key to the patterns of social organization is to be found in a brief analysis of the master ideas or controlling motifs of Pukapukan culture. These are both extraverted and realistic. The realistic construct of the culture is evident in social patterns, in myth, story, chant, and in everyday life. Thus, when the Pukapukan has occasion to greet an old, sick woman, hobbling along the village road, he remarks: "Where are you going, lady, you with your sickly and crippled walk?" There is no felt need to gloss over the situation and insinuate, as with us, that all is for the best and that even a semi-invalid is walking better each day. Again, when one asks an old man, obviously soon about to die, to name his descent lineage, more often than not the question one puts is: "Where are they going to bury you, old man, when you die in a day or so?" No offence is ever taken at the apparent crudity of such questioning; the old man is fully cognizant of the fact of death and is able realistically to face it and joke about it. This is in line with the general Pukapukan attitude toward death; it is one of extreme realism, not at all one of fear, though fear may come later when it is suspected that spirits of the dead are malicious trouble makers. Again, Pukapukan humor concerns itself almost exclusively with either the functioning of physiological processes in other than the appropriate social situation,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[522] or with the exaggerated functioning of these processes in normal situations.
181 Realism reaches its full development in the realm of sex. The contents of chants and stories and the behavior of children are proof of this. One of the most difficult tasks of the resident agent in his capacity as school teacher is to check the lack of inhibition in the speech of children within school.

Cultural extraversion allows for great display of individual prowess in typical extraverted activities such as fishing, sports, games, and lovemaking. Economic patterns which necessitate group work for the good of the household or village act as a check, but this work is often competitive and places a premium on individual skill if the household or village is to triumph over competing groups. States of typical hysterical dissociation were formerly common among priests and medicine men when consulting lineage gods.

181 In general, little check is placed on individual prowess and a man is
554 honored for displaying his abilities. In the reciting of chants that symbolize triumph over another village or grief felt for a departed member of the
521 community, wild movements, loud weeping, and hysterical displays of emotion are common and proper. Good taste also permits conversation or oratory to
152 be accompanied by vigorous body movements, gestures, and intense dramatization of climactic moments. People are noisy in conversation (unless prudence dictates the whisper); they enjoy loud laughter and shouting back and forth to each other. Children, too, when not subdued by elders or by the presence of white people, engage in noisy games, in which singing and excited movement are appropriate. There are of course a few individuals who do not conform to this pattern. But in the matter of deciding what is good taste, this characterization is not false to the cultural ideal.

181 The chief virtues for the man are those grouped around technical excel-
885 lence at craft and other economic activities, and skill at lovemaking. Those for the woman parallel these: they are economic and craft virtues, virtues
517 of physical excellence and bodily strength, and again, skill at lovemaking. It is to be noted that these activities are extraverted feeling activities. Along with them goes an appreciation of, and single-minded attention to, the cultivation of the senses. The culture is sensuous but not sensual. The chants are full of explicit reference to the beauty of the human body as tested by sight, smell, and feeling, to the love of flowers and plants, to the keen joy in the slightest beauty of the physical environment. This cultivation of
181 feeling, a cultivation which is hardy and vigorous and in no sense to be
831 equated with the pale vision of the esthete, reaches its highest development in the symbolisms of sexual intercourse. Around the sexual act itself has been constellated a naturalistic play activity and delight in associations derived from close study of nature that render the Pukapukan interest in this major fact of life one that is the reverse of the gross and sensual. The Pukapukan

539 to be a coconut-leaf mat big enough to cover the whole canoe and shelter the canoe and water round it from the wind. The seas grew calm and the canoe sailed on safely, even though the seas of Witi are dangerous, the rains pour down in huge drops and the winds blow like hurricanes.

On and on the canoe sailed, but before reaching Witi, Lata saw two huge man-eating fish called palao. The crew were all afraid of these fish thinking they would surely be eaten up. But Lata called out, "Who will deal with these fish?" Wakapeyi and Wakapalalu volunteered, and Lata told them to go to work. Both these men balanced on the gunwales of the canoe with their fundaments under the sea and began to discharge feces. They continued to do this until the ocean was full of feces. The two fish swallowed and swallowed up the feces and in the end were so stuffed that they could not move, but floated away on the current with distended bellies.

The canoe sailed on and on until at last it came to the channel of Witi. There was a gigantic rock blocking up the entrance to the channel and no room was left for the canoe to enter. So Lata called to his crew, "Who will rid us of this rock?" Then Tupua-ulu-watu said, "It is my turn, I will do this task." He dived into the sea and swam under water to the rock which he began to hit with his head. He went on doing this until at last the rock shivered to pieces under the continued battering, and the canoe was able to sail into the channel.

The channel was a big one and as the canoes sailed up to the beach, Lata described a gigantic Tridacna shell fish rising up from the sea bottom. Its shells were wide open, and it was very likely to swallow up and destroy the canoe. The crew called out to Lata in alarm, saying that now surely their last hour was come. But Lata replied, "No, this is my turn, I will deal with this clam." He grasped his cutting stick firmly in one hand, and dived into the water. He entered the clam shell which closed about him. The crew saw this and cried out that Lata had surely perished and they too would soon suffer a like fate. All the time however, Lata was busy cutting away the roots of the clam flesh with his wooden knife. Soon the crew saw a cloud of inky black stuff coming out from the closed shell, and they plucked up hope again, saying Lata is safe after all. A moment later the shell opened out and Lata emerged, swimming to the surface with the flesh in his hands.

522 There was a great amount of flesh, so Lata thought to divide it up among all the islands of the Pacific, that the people of these islands might share in the feast. He cut the flesh into pieces and gave one piece to each island group in the Pacific,

539 one to Niue, one to Manihiki, to the Tokelaus, to Samoa, to
522 Ellice, to Gilberts, to Hawaii, to New Zealand, and so forth. In the end he thought that every island had been given a share as the flesh was finished. His crew suddenly cried out, "Oh Lata, you have forgotten one island." Lata replied by asking the forgotten name. The crew told him, "The island of Pukapuka." "Well," replied Lata,"all the shares have been given out, and there is none left for Pukapuka." But he bethought himself and dived into the sea again, cut out the root of the clam and coming to the surface called out, "Here is the share of Pukapuka." [Note the great joke involved. The root of the clam is inedible and useless for any purpose, hence Pukapuka received useless matter while the other islands shared in the juicy flesh.]

539 This task accomplished, the canoe was beached and the crew landed on the shore of Witi. The people of Witi had seen the canoe from afar however, and suspected they might be strangers up to mischief so they had built a strong stockade (pa) to house them when they landed. Hence Lata's crew were immediately marched to their stockade and safely secured as prisoners inside it. The plan of the people of Witi was to give the crew plenty of food and fatten them up so that they would be good eating when the time came to kill them. It was necessary, however, for the people of Witi to have some excuse for killing the group of innocent strangers who had committed no fault so far. It was decided to have a contest at getting crabs, one contestant from Lata's crew, and one contestant from Witi. The Witi people thought that their champion would easily win and this would allow them to put to death the defeated side.

The Witi champion (toa) was very skilled at digging up crabs. His name was Tupua-keli-tupa (Tupa-crab-digger). When the name of the champion was announced to Lata he turned to his crew and said, "Whose turn is it to save us now?" Tupua-kaia volunteered to do his best, so he was presented as the champion of Lata. The two champions went off to the bush to dig up crabs. The Witi expert set to work and quickly filled three baskets while Tupua-kaia had hardly time to fill one. The time passed quickly, the afternoon sun turned to disappear below the ocean, and as the men were in a far off place, Tupua-kaia proposed that the two should sleep in the bush for the night, returning to the settlement on the morrow. The Witi champion agreed to this since he was tired from much digging and needed a rest badly. The Witi champion had three baskets filled with crabs. Tupua-kaia had only one basket

539 the spirit of her husband. The two gods pitied her and sought the aid of Tangata-no-te-moana. This god in turn enlisted the aid of Tulikalo, musician god of the Underworld. (6) Tulikalo agreed to beat hard at his wooden gongs "so that the land is lost, so that the house of Leva in the Underworld stands on one side." The spirit of Milimili had arrived as far as the house of Leva and was about to become incorporated in the plaiting elements of the mat that Leva was making when Tulikalo began whistling and beating his gongs furiously. The vibrations in the air shook the door of Leva's house, then the house itself began to sway. Tangata-no-te-moana struck the house with his tail. The house toppled over and the god snatched the spirit of Milimili from the plaiting and threw it back to the world above. The weepers for Milimili looked at his body. It was slowly coloring. Milimili sat up and sang the chant of the gods. He lived and his wife was happy.

Of Pakai

The story of Pakai tells of a Yato man who broke the tapu and stole food from the reserve island of Motu Ko.

Pakai was a priest who served Te Maungatu, god of Yamaunsa lineage. He went secretly to Motu Ko and at the place called Tua-welo, broke the tapus imposed by his god. The gods guarding the reserve were angry and they surrounded Pakai, rushing on him to strike him dead. Pakai heard their ghostly speech as one called to the other, "get ready your leaflet food platter and your fish-jaw knife." Pakai became frightened because he was surrounded on all sides and there was no place to run to. With the long bark streamer of his priestly headdress he addressed magic to his god and Te Laupapa elbowed an opening for him through the circle of angry gods. A second and a third time he was surrounded and again and again he was saved by the efforts of Te Laupapa. Finally he managed to escape from the island and ran along the reef back to Wale where he told the people gathered in the sacred worshipping house (wale atua) of his adventures.

Of Kutu

538 The story of Kutu and the gods is unclear as to motive. It

514 522 6. The Pukapukan conceptualisation of the Underworld is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, 327-328, category 116--analyst].

[538] is probable; however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished
514 to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned
522 the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds
539 exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying,
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over,
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to ghe ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totolon are based
539 on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the
[825] movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods are are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (ipo) were the kakai and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks as broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an avekula fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the

322 Humor.

Loite, the matakivihivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko pupu wua i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

597 Adoption.

593 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from
159 school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaimau. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mate (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka'e thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

524 Introduced toys and games.

177 Marbles, pei, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Koloti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pei ki lunga ko te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [?] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

264 when the first leaves are just opening.

Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
626 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

774 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
248 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the beach, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.